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867 Another episode concerns a small boy who had just become
602 aware of the "polite form" of speech, that indirect mode of ad-
[601] dress in use between affinal relatives who must conduct them-
[576] selves with restraint when they are together. He approached his grandmother's home where there were visitors before whom he was too bashful to appear and, in this most formal manner, asked if the guests were still inside. He was, of course, greeted by
[606] laughter. He did not realize until later that he "was doing what a son-in-law does who thinks his mother-in-law is in a certain place and wants to make sure before he goes in."

867 A comparable mistake was made by some little boys at a girl's
881 puberty rite. During the ceremony the adolescent girl runs around a basket tray placed to the east of the ceremonial structure. In her path, that the benefits of the ceremony may accrue to them also, run young boys and even old men. "When the girls ran around the basket, we boys were expected to run after them. At first, we thought it was a real race, and several of us beat the girls. Then one old man told us that it was not the way, that we were not supposed to pass them, so we stayed behind the other three times."

• 869 Even when the cultural ethic has been unmistakably indi-
764 cated, a youngster may lag in conforming to it. One man was
[761] reluctant to talk about death or burial, for horror of such topics is great, but he confessed that this had not always been his state of mind:

> I remember that whenever a funeral procession was passing by we were told not to look at it. But we did look at it whenever the old people were not around.
>
> I once asked my grandmother where they were taking a dead man who was being carried away. She told me not to look at the procession. Then she told me that they were putting the man away; that he couldn't walk, or dance, or eat, or sing by himself any more; that they were putting him under the ground.
>
> "But if they are putting him under the ground, how will he keep the dirt out of his eyes?" I asked. She explained to me that he was all fixed up so that no dirt would get in his eyes. It was the first time I had ever thought about death. I began to ask more questions of my grandmother, but she told me that he couldn't come back any more and to stop talking about it.
>
> [857] A few days later we children played funeral. We killed grasshoppers and buried them.
>
> I wasn't afraid until I was about seven years old. Then I learned about ghosts, and from that time on I was pretty much afraid.

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861 you are!" He drags the boy over there. Other men are there with boys. Always
865 there is a big crowd of men and boys at the grounds.

The father calls out, "Here is my boy. He's always in trouble. Let's see how bad he really is. Is there any other troublesome boy here?"

Perhaps some other father has a boy who needs a good lesson. He brings his boy forward. Maybe those two boys don't want to fight. The men hit them with sticks until they begin. They are both troublesome boys. No one cares who wins. The parents want them to get beaten up. The father keeps matching his boy up against others until the boy gets a good licking. Then he takes him home.

He says to the boy, "Are you hurt? Does it hurt? We want you to go through life without getting hurt. We want you to obey and to listen to our good words. But you try to run us and make trouble. Now you've been licked. You see that you are not such a man as you think. If you can't behave, we are going to take you out and make you fight a boy who is still bigger."

538 Yet there is greater dependence on advice and traditional
861 stories for guiding the young than on physical coercion. The tales are particularly important in this connection. Some have no other point than to rationalize usage or belief. A child who is
[826] reluctant to "feed" his legs, that is, to rub grease on them after eating, is reminded of the story of the man who fed only his stomach and was told by his legs, "Run with your belly!" when he appealed to them to carry him out of danger.

868 Narratives of personal experience are also used to instruct the
538 young. Once when some boys were showing insufficient interest in the running they were supposed to practice, an old man called them over and offered them the following counsel:

Boys, I'm an old man and funny looking now, and you all laugh at me. But there's one thing I always took care of, and they are pretty good still. I mean my legs. And you can learn that from me. My legs have saved me many a time.

Once I was out with a bunch of men. I stopped behind for a few minutes and they went ahead. I ran right into a bear there. That bear took after me. He was right behind me when I started running. But by the time I caught up with the others I was way ahead of him. I outran that bear. If I hadn't trained and kept myself a good runner, I would have been killed right there. So you boys ought to practice some running.

538 Many of the important myths can be told in winter only, and
869 so the long winter nights are often enlivened by story-telling sessions. These occasions are not arranged for the exclusive benefit of the children, but, when children are present, special care is

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taken by the raconteur to point the moral. Such instruction is not always taken in good spirits. "My father told me many stories, but sometimes I got very sleepy. Sometimes I got contrary and wanted to go to bed," an informant admitted. Usually, however, the children look forward to these evenings and often beg a grandparent to arrange one.

The most important story a child hears at this time is that of the birth of the culture hero and his victorious encounters with the monsters. Familiarity with this account is a necessary background for much ritual. Parts of the story are dramatized in the girl's puberty rite. Ceremonial songs and many ritual touches refer to the protagonists of this legend. Grama grass, for example, appears in ceremonial contexts because Child of the Water used it for an arrow in his encounter with Giant, one of the monsters. Other stories of the culture hero and his mother further acquaint the child with their holiness and the great respect he owes them.

Scarcely less important is the set of stories devoted to the Mountain People, supernaturals inhabiting the interiors of sacred mountains. These Mountain People, who are impersonated by the masked dancers, are described in the legends as potential sources of supernatural power and as protectors of the tribal territory.

Most appreciated by the young people, however, is the Coyote cycle, a series of episodes of the pranks of the trickster. Coyote violates all the social and sexual conventions of the society, and this permits the narrator to contrast "Coyote's way" with more approved conduct. Coyote stories "make a child sleepy," and so it is often necessary to tickle his nose or tap him lightly on the head in order to keep him awake. Through the Coyote tales the child gets some hint of the imperfectibility of man and of the inevitability of moral turpitude in the world: "Coyote stories are used as a lesson. And they still blame Coyote today for the foolish things humans do."

Other tales serve to imbue the child with the proper attitudes toward baneful or helpful animal life, toward supernaturals, and toward neighboring peoples.

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869 The child's first religious instruction centers about reverence for the principal supernaturals and emphasizes the virtues of humility and gratitude. "At our own camps, when a child is old enough to understand his parents, they begin to teach him to be religious, to use religious words, and to know Life Giver, Child of the Water, and White Painted Woman."

773 869 The child soon comes to sense that specific favors are the result of the activity of other powers. There are no stories to record the deeds of Life Giver, but there are numerous tales to explain the part of other supernaturals in origins and possessions. For instance, according to tradition, daylight was acquired as a result of the moccasin or hidden-ball game played between the birds and the four-footed animals. Even the origin of man is not attributed to the nominal creator in the myths; what hints there are (and these creation elements may be of European origin) seem to credit Child of the Water with the act.

869 772 82 The child is given very little in the way of a formalized conception of the universe:

> If we aren't shamans or have no supernatural power, we have no basis to stand on in saying how far from us the clouds are or how far away the sun is. A person like myself will tell you that rain comes from the clouds, because I have no vision about it. But others will say their power causes it. I don't know just where to begin or what to believe.

In other words, one person claims to know more than another concerning those aspects of nature which his personal power touches, but, since no adult should presume to conviction about the prerogatives of his fellows, the child hears no unified philosphy of nature.

THE DANGERS OF CHILDHOOD

869 855 [776] With age the individual becomes "toughened" against the assaults of malevolent forces; but the child is almost defenseless before them. While adults ordinarily have protective ceremonies and guardian spirits to warn them of danger, children are less shielded in this way. Because of his precarious position, the child is constantly guarded by minor rituals and devices. From these he gains his first impressions of the forces opposed to his welfare and of the ceremonial usages that benefit him.

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His first attendance at the girl's puberty rite is likely to be an unforgettable occasion. He is brought forward that his face may be painted with pollen by the girl. To insure his health and growth, she may pick him up and hold him to the directions, and, if he is small for his age, she may be asked to place her hands under his chin at the neck and lift him.

So that a child may grow tall he is lifted four times to the new moon. He is warned never to urinate in an anthill, lest he have bladder stones. That he may not become lonesome in the absence of a departing relative, the traveler wets his finger with saliva and touches it to the child's face. If, nevertheless, he does get lonesome, a basket is placed four times over his head. When their father is on the raid, the children are urged not to throw the wood for the fire around carelessly, lest their parent become confused about the direction to take. When a child loses a tooth, he is counseled to say, "I hope I have another tooth," and to throw it to the east or to tie grama grass around it and throw it to the sun; that witches may not retrieve it and do him harm, he is told to dispose of it at some remote spot. The child is also advised not to watch masked dancers being decorated and never to call the name of an impersonator whom he may recognize. To safeguard him against sickness, a fringed buckskin amulet containing a growth from the creosote bush may be strung around his neck. Such practices, solemnly advised by his elders, impress the child with the efficacy of magical aids and with the proximity and power of the forces against which they are pitted.

During this early period, too, the child learns of the evil animals and the natural agencies toward which he must exercise special care. "Drop that feather!" someone may call as he stoops to pick up a buzzard feather. Or the nature of a disease resulting from contact with Snake is explained by one who has ceremonial power from it and knows its ways. A person with such knowledge often takes measures that protect the children of the vicinity:

In the summer when the snakes came back and the parents were afraid that the children would be bitten, this woman used to call many children together and sing for them, and she would put a cross of pollen inside each moccasin for them. She told them not to call Snake too much or it would come and not to look for it

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or they would see it. She would make a buckskin string with two pieces of turquoise tied to it and give it to anyone who was afraid of the snake. That one had to wear it on the right foot below the ankle.

It is quite as important that the child understand the ways of the cloud-dwelling Thunder People whose arrows are chipped flints found throughout Chiricahua country. The children are directed to make a respectful spitting noise when the lightning flashes and to refrain from eating during a storm. Sage is pointed out as a protective plant which may be worn in the hair during a storm. Nothing red should be displayed at such a time, they are told, for red is associated with the lightning flash and may draw it.

While the child is very young, adults take the proper steps to protect him from danger. But, as he grows old enough to understand ideas and to react consistently to them, more responsibility for his own safety is transferred to him. Thus, quite small children not only depend upon the amulets provided for them but pick and wear the sage which wards off the lightning, dispose of a loose tooth, and extend due respect to masked dancers. Advice and guidance are freely given, but the response which constitutes growth and fulfilment is, as far as possible, elicited from the child himself. The prevailing theme in things nonritual as well as ritual is that the youngster must learn to do for himself tomorrow what is done for him today.

Since most ceremonies are curative rites and are of frequent occurrence, it is almost inevitable that, while the child is still very young, he will witness a full-length ceremony. Very often the first shamanistic performance a child remembers is one in which he was the patient:

> At this time, when I was about six years old, I saw the first ceremony I can remember. It was given for me. I don't know what was the matter with me, but at that time I was very slim and underweight, and it may have been for a general run-down condition. I know I was taken to the shaman's house. I was lying on a bed in the middle of the room. My grandmother was there. My mother, but not my father, was there. My father couldn't be there because my mother's mother was present. Other people whom I did not know were sitting around. The man who was curing me sang. Later on I was told that he had forbidden me to eat the head and liver of any animal. Whenever they had liver after that, they had something else for me. At big gatherings where there was head, I would not eat any of it.

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told some of the boys that he was going to give another ceremony for a patient on another night, this time for ghost sickness, and that they might attend if they would promise not to scratch themselves.

As a result of such experiences the child learns to anticipate the curative function of ceremonies, the claims of shamans, their pattern of prayers, songs, and manipulation of sacred objects. He becomes sensible of the close rapport between the shaman and the power source, of the mingled flattery, pleading, and threats which mark the attempts to force the supernatural world to respond to the needs of man. He becomes aware of the sources of disease—snakes, bears, coyotes, ghosts, witches; of the implicit homeopathic feeling that snake sickness, for instance, requires the services of a snake shaman. He gets some hint, also, of the multiple ceremonies which such a shaman as Geronimo possesses, and he learns of the restrictions associated with ritual.

The beliefs and ceremonial usages associated with the related concepts of death, the ghost, and the owl are very early transmitted to the child by older relatives. "When I was little I never gave any thought to death. But once I got very sick. My mother thought I was going to die. She told me that I could not come back if I died. This was my first scare. Since then I have been afraid of death."

Often a child's awareness of death begins at the demise of some relative. Then his name may be changed because the dead person had spoken it so frequently that its use would recall the deceased to mind. Or his hair may be cut and his appearance thus altered. At the time of a close relative's burial, a child's clothing is discarded and replaced, for nothing must be left as it was before death. Efforts are now intensified to protect the child from supernatural harm; ashes are strewn upon him and around his bed to discourage the approach of ghosts, and he is thoroughly incensed with smoke from burning sage, called "ghost medicine."

Whether or not the child is curious about the meanings of death practices, they must be explained to him, for it is socially dangerous to permit individuals, however young, to remain in ignorance of them:

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869 765 578 761 When I was little I was told about death. According to what I was taught as far back as I can remember, when someone died he would never come back to this world; he was gone. I was told that I must therefore never again call his name, for I might accidentally say his name in the presence of his parents or other relatives and they might scold me for it or slap my mouth. The parents taught the children that it is an insult to another person to call the name of his dead relative. If I was a little fellow and didn't know any better, someone might have slapped my mouth; then the families might have been angry, and there might have been trouble.

869 764 I was told that you never watch burial parties just to see what is going on. Men and women show that they sympathize with those people who are carrying their relative to the mountains by getting out and crying when they go by, even though they are not related. You should never watch unless you are crying like this for them. Children should not watch at all.

869 825 775 At first, little attempt is made to enlarge upon the precise place of the owl in the death complex. But, as the child grows older, the nexus between ghost and owl is clarified:

When I was young this is what I heard the old Indians say about ghosts and owls. They said that owls are part of ghosts. A night or so after a death you hear an owl close to the camp where the person died. Not only in that camp but in other camps near by the people hear that owl calling. They say, "That person is back over there again!"

[768] They claimed that if the dead man had a horse left alive there, or if any of his clothes were there, he would come back every night until his possessions were destroyed. He would come back after his things. If you had not destroyed what belonged to the dead man, the things he had had his hands on during his life, the owl would come every now and then, perhaps often, they said. Then it might bring sickness or bad luck to that family. That's the way I heard it long ago.

[789] And so to prevent sickness, if an owl cried around the camp, they set fire to a stick of wood, carried it outside, and threw it in the direction of the owl. Then it stopped [hooting].

869 775 In the following excerpt an informant recalls the manner in which his father sought to satisfy his curiosity concerning the destination of the dead:

I asked, "Suppose I die. Where would I go?"

My father said, "When a man dies he is just like any human being and is just transferred to another state. He is in another world. There are mountains and rivers there as there are here." He called it the underworld. He said, "The habits you have on earth are carried with you. If you are a bronco-buster on earth, you would be a bronco-buster in the other world. If you play hoop and pole on earth a great deal, you play that game all the time in the underworld. Whatever a person is accustomed to do on earth he will be doing down there."

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One of the reasons for telling the child about the underworld is to warn him of the machinations of ghosts who strive to lure him thither:

This is what I learned from my older relatives. The ghosts are supposed to go around in the early part of the night and then again when it gets on toward morning, from about two o'clock on. That's the old Chiricahua belief.

Toward morning a person will be dreaming. He dreams that ghosts are bothering him. He dreams of the underworld and the people there. Some of them he knows, some he doesn't know. He sees the beautiful land. They offer him food, a piece of yucca fruit or bread. When I was small my father and the older people told me that if I dreamed this I should not accept the fruit, for, if you accept it, it means that you are going to die and go to that place yourself.

The fear of the departed, and especially of departed relatives, plays a conspicuous part in adult life, in ideas of witchcraft, in aspects of social organization, and in shamanism. The basis for this is solidly laid in childhood:

I was pretty thin when I was a child. . . . . I used to be very much afraid too. I was influenced a great deal by the Indian beliefs about ghosts and used to get scared at night. I'd go over to someone else's bed and force myself upon him. Often I'd wake up screaming in the middle of the night, thinking I had seen someone near my bed. I'd dream of ghosts. A face would be bending over me, laughing. It would be just an outline, no features showing.

. . . . I always had a tendency to look back and see if anyone was following me when I was out at night. This is what the Chiricahua call being influenced by ghosts; I must have been suffering from ghosts.

Sometimes the child's panic reaches such proportions that a ceremony must be conducted over him:

Once when I was a boy we children were playing out at night. As I was coming home I felt that someone was touching me. I became frightened, ran home, fell in the door, and became sick. They performed a ghost ceremony over me. The shaman worked a fire drill. The first sparks that came he put in my mouth.[1] I came to my senses. Then the shaman prayed and finally he sang. I was small and do not remember more of the details.

There are cases where a child's ailment, though the symptoms are not so transparent, is finally interpreted as ghost or "darkness" sickness (to use the approved euphemism) and dealt with

[1] An evidence of the opposition of fire and the ghost (owl) which is believed to exist.

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755 accordingly: "I walked in my sleep and I talked, too, while I walked. My father knew a ghost ceremony. He sang for me and I stopped."

869 No less memorable is a child's first acquaintance with witch-
754 craft. For his own protection this knowledge concerning people who use supernatural power for evil ends must be communicated to him as soon as he is able to absorb it.

> You have to hide from witch people all the time and must not go too near them. That's what parents tell their children. "Don't go near that man. Don't go around his camp. Don't let him see you. Don't be too free and happy in his sight. When you pass a witch don't look toward him. Don't pay any attention to him. . . . . If they talk to you, answer. If not, pass them by and keep out of their way. If you have something pleasant to tell them, do it; if not, pass them by without a word."

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863 Even ordinary instruction concerning personal cleanliness is influenced by the same considerations:

754 Children were taught, "When you have to defecate, don't do it on the path where people pass." So they would go way out. . . . .

It is because of witchcraft that we are so very particular about it. Suppose a witch or his wife or child should step on it. There is no telling what he might do about it. He might witch you for it.

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754 Gradually notions of witchcraft intrude into the life of the child:

I remember that I knew about witches at a very early age, when I was four or five years old. I was eight when I learned that S. was a witch. My grandmother told me so. Also I heard other children say it. One time he came to N.'s encampment. We children ducked around the home because they said he was a witch. I heard one man talking and saying that S. had tried to get married a number of times, but that he was always refused because he was a witch. They told us to keep out of his sight as much as possible, to refuse any gift from him, and not to let him do anything queer to us. Also we were told to treat him with respect when we met him so that he wouldn't do anything harmful to us. We were told not to offend him in any circumstances.

The children were afraid of him, and when I was with them I acted this way too. But really I was curious. I wanted to learn more about this man. So when I was a little older I went to his place. I didn't let anyone see me. I went by a roundabout way. I went during the day. He was lying on the bed, singing a social dance song. He told me to come in. I expected to see something, to find some proof of his witchcraft. But I failed to see anything. He seemed just like a normal man to me that first time.

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He didn't act as though he was surprised to see me. He stopped singing and asked me to sit down. He just talked in a social way. I don't think he suspected the reason for my visit. I asked him for a smoke. At first he hesitated. He asked me if I was allowed to smoke. I told him that my aunt let me smoke. Then he gave it to me. It is unusual for an older man to give a boy a smoke. A boy wouldn't ever ask an old Indian for a smoke; he wouldn't dare. I stayed with him for about an hour. When I left I still thought he was a witch, though I had no reason for it. I just thought he hadn't revealed himself.

The first few times I went to visit him I took pains not to be seen by others. At first I thought it was something daring to do, but after a while it wore off. Even when I was visiting him openly by myself, I used to avoid him when I was with the other boys.

I took precautions while I was going to him though. I was afraid of being witched. I didn't accept anything from him. Once I refused something, though I needed it badly. I wouldn't eat there either. If he offered me food, I always explained that I had just eaten and wasn't hungry. I did take smokes though. I wanted them pretty badly, I guess, because he could have done more harm through tobacco than through food, since tobacco is used in ceremonies. I never found out why he was suspected or met anybody he was supposed to have harmed.

PLAY

It would be a mistake to suppose that childhood is little more than an unhappy introduction to notions of death and witchcraft. Fears exist, but the normal youngster devotes far less attention to these alarming subjects than he does to his playmates and games.

The children are amazingly resourceful in exploiting the possibilities of their natural surroundings in play. Little girls, and sometimes little boys, make beads from wild-rose hips, ground cherries, and the scouring rush plant. Pine needles serve for earrings and bracelets. The girls fashion dolls from panic grass and string together ground cherries to form little figures. They then make, on a tiny scale, substitutes for all the possessions they observe in their own households. Small toy homes are constructed from a number of plants. Ferns yield pillows, blankets, and beds for the dolls. From the Jacob's-ladder are shaped little dresses for the doll, and these dresses are decorated with "jingles" of side-oats grama grass. Even a miniature of the food staple, mescal, has been found, and so the dolls go forth industriously to gather "doll's mescal" (*Androsace pinetorum*). Food is generously pro-

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603 paid to him. My father said the old man was kind to him, was always gentle with him, and used to advise him. He took more trouble with him than other relatives did.

[538] [867] The maternal grandparents, who are the approved raconteurs for the children of the extended family, function to a considerable degree as teachers, for a good deal of instruction for the young comes obliquely through stories.

603 868 [855] [462] The influence of the maternal grandparents is not limited to oral instruction. While the younger men are hunting or raiding and the younger women are away gathering food or getting wood and water, the care of the children and the performance of camp tasks fall to the older people. The grandfather makes arrows, ropes, and many other objects. Often his grandson watches him or even assists him. The grandmother cooks, sews, and weaves baskets, occasionally pausing to explain her methods to her granddaughter.

603 869 756 Ceremonial knowledge may also be received from the grandparent. Many rites result from personal experiences with the supernatural, but a certain number are passed along to others by those who have had such individual encounters. When a ceremony is transmitted, it is most often taught to a relative. Usually a shaman is reluctant to reveal his secrets until he feels that the end of his life is near and that his ceremony will perish with him unless a successor is found. Thus there is a tendency for very old persons to seek younger relatives as their understudies in things ceremonial. The grandchild often proves a promising candidate, especially if he is not too young during his grandparent's declining years.

603 The paternal grandparents usually cannot hope for a great deal of contact with their son's child. At marriage their son has left their encampment, and his obligations are to his wife's relatives. Yet when it happens that the father's parents do live near the extended family into which their son has married, they take pleasure in being with their grandchildren and may even rival the maternal grandparents in solicitude.

601 603 Four kinship terms, one for each grandparent, label the grandparent-grandchild relationship. Since they are used as self-

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We had a good sheep dog. She found a nest of small snakes and ate them. Then she got so mean we couldn't do anything with her. We were afraid of her. She wouldn't obey and would come running at you. We had to shoot her.

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Owl and ghost.—Fear of the owl, initially communicated to children by the very panic of their elders, grows in intensity with the passage of time. It is said: "Coyote and the snake are about the same, but the owl is most dreaded." "The Chiricahua are afraid to say anything about owls or to tell stories of owls." Nor can the presence of an owl around camp be treated with indifference:

If an owl hangs around your camp, you can take a burning stick from the fire and throw it in the owl's direction. Some would shoot at these birds. But a man who had power from that bird wouldn't shoot at it. He would be praying to it. He would know what it was around for.

When my wife and baby and I are in sheep camp and the owl begins to hoot, we don't like it. My wife often asks me to chase it. Sometimes a little child gets scared. We don't like an owl around when children are sleeping.

A typical reaction to the sight of an owl is that of the old woman of this narrative:

My sheepherder is a Shawnee Indian. Not long ago he killed an owl and brought it into my camp. We didn't notice what he was doing. An old woman was there. It was about twenty minutes before she knew what it was. She thought it was an eagle at first. Finally she asked me what it was, and I looked and told her it was an owl. Then she blew up and began to scold. "Throw that thing away! It's going to cause you evil influence," she said. I said, "Not me, but that fellow who is handling it." "Yes, you, for you have it in your camp," she answered.

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The owl is so greatly feared because it is the form assumed by another agent of disease and malevolence; it is the materialization of the ghost:

Once I was riding along with Old N. and we heard an owl. N. was a brave man, but he got so scared he nearly fell off the horse. I said, "Why, that's only a bird!" "Don't say that!" N. told me. "It's a ghost. It comes out of the grave and it goes back."

The proper destination of the shades of the deceased is the underworld, where it is hoped they will continue another existence oblivious of the living on the earth above. Their materialization as owls can indicate only an evil purpose:

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happens to your gun when you try to shoot at such a fellow. Your gun jams, for instance. The one who knows this ceremony can fix it for someone else so that, when he is shot at, he will be missed.

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The shield is always ceremonial and belongs to this kind of power. When you see a man with a shield, you know it was made for him by a ceremonial man in connection with a war ceremony. It's not like a bow or a sling. It's not just a weapon. Anyone couldn't have this. The shield is called "that which I hold up" in a ceremonial way. It is the same with the lance. You could only get it from a man who had the right to make it. It is not just a weapon. [411]

411 789 869

I think I'm going to learn the gun ceremony from an old man now. I got him when he was a little full and asked him if he knew anything he would show me. He said, "Yes, I know Gun." He told me it would be easy for me to learn, that it was mostly some prayers and songs. He showed me some of it right there. In these songs and prayers the parts of the gun are given certain names. The wooden stock is called the earth. The metal barrel is called the moon. The little screws that hold it together are called whirlwind. This is true of all gun ceremonies. I'm going to see him again and learn more about it.

714 789 292

The preparation of shields and designed garments to be given to the client as protective amulets receives constant mention:

In connection with the gun ceremony there were circular buckskin head coverings. These were carried but not worn often. Actually, a man wore a strip of buckskin or cloth or a handkerchief around his head in war. Just the war shaman and those to whom he gave them had the hats. Most of the time the hat was just rolled up and tied to the quiver.

The shamans of the war ceremony made hats. These went with the shields; they were made by the same men. These hats were of buckskin. Some were round and decorated all around the rim. Some were colored black and white and were designed with serrated figures, four-pointed stars, and lightning symbols. Sometimes a jacket was given to the person to wear. [531]

411 788 789 [873]

A protective ritual formula, allegedly first executed by Child of the Water before his conflict with the giant, was described by an informant who is reputed to know the gun ceremony:

Spit on the palm of the left hand. Dip the first finger of the right hand in the saliva and make a cross with it on the left foot, thigh, forearm, and cheek. As the crosses are made, call upon the four Thunders: Black Thunder, Blue Thunder, Yellow Thunder, and White Thunder.

Then recite the following prayer, "Black flint is over your body four times. Take your black weapon to the center of the sky. Let his weapons disappear from the earth." This prayer, with only the colors changed, is repeated four times. Then rub the first finger of the right hand horizontally across the lips four times.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

538 of the horse again on the other side of the branch and we went on and killed the deer I was chasing."

When he was telling stories, if anyone acted as though he were going to go, I. would say, "Wait, we're going to cook something pretty soon." It might be noon and there would be nothing to eat in the camp at all. But he'd ask his wife, "Have you got anything to eat?" His wife was just as bad as he was. "Certainly," she'd say. "In just a few minutes, I'll get it ready." It would never come. After all of his stories he would turn to his wife and ask, "Now isn't that true?" She'd answer, "Yes, that's true."

He had only one woman. No other would have anything to do with him. Yet he would say, "When a woman gets angry with me, I go off. I don't cut her nose. I don't beat my wife. I don't say anything. There is always another woman ahead, I say."

I. once saved a large encampment, they claim. The children were thinking of going swimming. Enemies were near. I.'s camp was out in the open on the side of a hill. He called all the people, all men and boys, to listen to stories, and they all came. While he was telling stories, he saw enemies in the distance coming toward the camp. He saved them, every one. If he hadn't been telling his stories, the children would have been in swimming. The white soldiers came, but the Apache all got away.

538 • 869 Many times these sessions are arranged for the particular benefit of the children, for it is an integral part of their education to be properly versed in the tribal lore. Just as often no definite plans are made in advance, but the older people drift from casual conversation to a review of more traditional materials, and the children gather around to listen.

Sometimes in the evening we would all gather over at my grandmother's home. There would be my sister, my cousins, and myself. The old lady would tell us Coyote stories. At other times some old men used to come over to my uncle's place and tell each other stories of the old times. Then we children used to come around and listen.

538 The long winter evenings are the most acceptable time for story-telling. Indeed, certain myths and myth cycles, such as the legend of the hidden-ball or "moccasin" game played for daylight, and the Coyote trickster cycle, can be told only at night and in cold weather, when the snake and the bear are not abroad. The events and atmosphere of the evenings during which he listened to Coyote stories have been recaptured in this vivid account by an informant: